B. Historic Period.

175/167 Having tried to fix what is historical in the prehistoric period, we now come to the XIXth century ; and here we find a great amount of detailed information in which there may be some legendary traits, but which as a whole seems to be entirely trustworthy. It does not suit our plan to narrate here all these facts. To do so would lead us much too far. Let us only say that the history of the Thonga tribe during the whole of the XIXth century was dominated by the invasion and migrations of the Zulu conquerors, who left Chaka and for their own sake enslaved the poor Ama-Thonga of the coast, just as Mosilekatsi did among the Mashonas. These Ba-Ngoni were led by Manukosi ; he found all the Thonga clans living according to the old Bantu style, each for itself, without national unity ; he easily conquered them and tried to impose on them the military system of dominion created by Dingiswayo and Chaka. Many of the Thonga clans emigrated into the Transvaal at that time (between 1835-1840) rather than submit to Manukosi ; as the Boers had settled in the country and as the Ngoni chiefs always feared a war with the Whites more than anything else, these Thongas were left undisturbed by Manukosi. They belonged to the Nkuna, Ba-Loyi and Mavundja clans, and founded numerous colonies in the Transvaal.

175 Manukosi reigned quietly for more than twenty years in the Limpopo valley and as far as the Mosapa (Ba-Ndjao country, north of the Sabie). His death took place in 1856. Then a dreadful war of succession still known as "the war" (mubango) raged for more than six years over the whole area of the Thonga tribe. Two brothers disputed the chieftainship. According to the Thonga law of succession, Muzila was the legal heir ; but the Ngoni law was against him and in favour of his younger brother Mawewe. Mawewe was then proclaimed chief and Muzila's followers fled to the Spelonken ; the new king however behaved as a cruel despot and, with the help of the Portuguese and of the Ronga warriors, Muzila defeated him decisively on the Sabie River, August 17-20 1862. The Ba-Ronga always remained

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175 independent of the Ngoni chiefs, being directly under the Portuguese authorities.

A Portuguese called Albasini, who acted during all that time as a chief of the Thongas of the Spelonken, played a considerable part in these events.

When Muzila died, his son Gungunyane succeeded him. The Ba-Ngoni had greatly diminished in number. In 1890 there were not more than a few hundred of them in the whole country. However they held it very firmly and the Thongas hated them. Therefore when the war between the Portuguese and some Ronga clans in 1894 led to difficulties between the Whites and Gungunyane, the Ngoni chief was abandoned by most of his people, even by his uncle Nkuyu : his capital Mandlakasi was burnt and he himself was captured by Musinho d'Albuquerque at the end of the year 1895 ; the despotic rule of the Zulus came to an end, and has been replaced by the Portuguese administration, much to the advantage of the Thonga tribe.

VII. *Ethnic characteristics of the Thonga tribe.*

197 What are the characteristic features of our tribe in relation to the other ethnic groups of South African Bantus, especially to the Zulus and Suthos ? We shall try to sketch them briefly as regards three main points : language and mental and physical character.

1) *The Language of the Thongas.* It would be useless to give here an elaborate description of the Thonga language : this has already been done for the Ronga dialect in my "Grammaire Ronga" published with the help of the Portuguese Government in 1896 (Bridel, Lausanne) and for the Djonga dialect in my Elementary Grammar of the Thonga-Shangaan language, which I published at the beginning of the Thonga-English Pocket Dictionary compiled by my colleague the Rev. Ch. Châtelain (Bridel, Lausanne 1908). I shall consider the language here only from an ethnological point of view, that is to say only to ascertain the proper place of the Thongas amongst the Bantus.

881 304 for the Nkunas near Leydsdorp. They have a special word for the physical operation, *yimba*, (in Ronga *soka*) which is used together with *ngoma* (Sutho *goma*), the generic term for all the customs connected with it. (It must not be forgotten that the word *ngoma* is also used for other initiations, especially for the initiation of widows, as will be seen in Chap. II.)

881 175 304 Amongst the Ba-Ronga, circumcision was abandoned more than a hundred years ago, before the arrival of Manukosi, and they were called *Ba-butoya*, the cowards, by other Northern clans, who said they feared the sufferings of that cruel school. Mboza has seen some old Ronga men who had been circumcised probably at the begining of the XIXth Century. It is well known that somewhat later Chaka put a stop to the custom amongst the Zulus; it did not fit in with the new military system inaugurated by him. When the Ngoni general Manukosi invaded the plains of the Low Country, it is not surprising that circumcision disappeared in those clans also. The constant fighting which prevailed in those troubled times did not allow men to stay three consecutive months in a circumcision lodge. It was feared also that circumcised boys would be killed by the enemy, being unable to run away in case of an invasion. But old men in the Bilen country assert that the *Ngoma* is a very old custom amongst the Thongas, and that it has long been practised by all their clans.

881 177 563 304 Is it possible to ascertain its *true origin*? My informants, Viguet especially, were convinced that the Ngoma was brought to the tribes of the Northern Transvaal by the *Ma-Lemba*, and it is a historical fact that, as regards the Ba-Venda of that country, the rite was adopted quite recently under the influence of the Ma-Lemba. These Ma-Lemba are a very curious people, living amongst the Thongas and the Suthos of Zoutpansberg, just like the Jews amongst the European nations, without a chief, without national unity, but with characteristic customs to which they adhere from generation to generation... They resemble the Jews in the fact that they do not eat flesh unless all the blood has been first carefully drained away. They dread eating blood above all else, and they shave at each new moon. They brought with them

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The *Nkuna clan*, which migrated from the confluence of the Olifphant and the Limpopo to the country round Leydsdorp, in or about 1835, is certainly of purer descent than most of the other Thonga clans, owing to its disturbed history, and its numerous migrations, which prevented other people from joining it, and strengthened the national tie. The common ancestor is Nkuna who, some centuries ago, left Zululand to settle in the plain of the Lower Limpopo. His son was Shitlhelana, his grandson Rinono. All the sons of Rinono are still known. One of them was the founder of the present royal family, and the present *hosi*, or chief, Muhlaba, is descended from him. The descendants of the others, who call themselves by their names, are the Mhumtanyanas, the Mashonganas, the Mbhalatis, the Kulalas, the Mushwanas, etc ; they form what is called the *doors* (tinyangwa) of the clan, each of these districts being under a petty chief, who is *hosana* (diminutive of hosi). So the nation is but an enlarged family, and everyone depends on his *hosana* and his *hosi*, the members of the royal family alone having only a *hosi*.

In the *Nondwane country*, on either side of the estuary of the Nkomati river, the situation is somewhat different. The whole land was first occupied in the XII[th] and XIII[th] centuries by three independant clans, the Mahlangwan, Honwana and Nkumba, which were on a lower scale of civilisation, having no iron weapons nor oxhide shields. They were scattered as far as the Mabota country and their numbers must have been very small. The first invasion took place before 1500, when a chief of the Lebombo hills, called Libombo, settled almost without fighting on the Western part of the estuary. This is the chief whom the old Portuguese chronicler Perestrello met in 1554, and who said to him : "Mena Libombo," — "I am Libombo." The original clans submitted to the invaders who mixed with them, being of a race not very different from them. Then, later on, came the clan now reigning, the Mazwaya, which conquered the whole country. According to the custom generally observed, the Mazwaya chief placed his relatives and his sons in the various parts of the land as petty chiefs (tihosana), retaining the old Libombo chiefs as counsellors (tindjuna) to watch over them and assist them.

648/173 This is a wise method of procedure; the old deposed chief becomes responsible for the welfare of the new one! Thus many *doors*, or provinces, were formed, and each of the petty chiefs founded a house and had his *shibongo*, his laudatory name. There were the Marwayas Masinga, the main branch, near Morakwen; the Marwayas Tjakame, not far from them; the Marwayas Hlewane, Marwayas Matinana, Marwayas Makaneta, etc. As the complicated law of succession frequently leads to disorders, as we shall see, the main branch lost its paramount power and became secondary. The kingship passed to the Matinana branch. However the Masingas retained their authority in their own jurisdiction, and it would be taboo to place a member of a younger branch over them. The religious regard for hierarchical order prevents such an offence from being committed. Lately, as a consequence of the war of 1904, the Hlewane branch has in its turn supplanted the Matinana. Thus, from all these facts, it appears that two hundred years ago the population of Nondwane was already composed of three different and successive strata. Since then, the situation has become even more complex. A great number of immigrants has settled in the country during the last century, coming in groups and asking the Marwaya chiefs and headmen to receive them. This is a very frequent occurrence amongst Thongas. They leave their clan, either because they want change, or because an accusation of witchcraft has induced them to flee, and they settle in another country. When I was living in Rikatla, one of the outside districts of the Marwaya country, before the war of 1894, the headman was Muzila, a young man of the reigning family; but there were very few Marwayas under him. He had as induna a Tembe man, called Mandjia, whose father, Mankhere, had come long ago to Rikatla and was so well known that people used to call the district: "Ka Mankhere," "at Mankhere's." Another village belonged to Hamande, a Djonga from the Shiburi country. A third had been built by people from the Manyisa clan, Nwamangele being their headman. So the population of the estuary of the Nkomati, which, at that time, had reached the number of six to eight thousand, became very mixed. However the country continued to be called

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"At Marwaya's." It belongs to the Mazwaya clan. Such is the composition of most of the Thonga clans. Though their origin is certainly the patriarchal family, they are far from being of pure descent.

I am under the impression that this is the old, normal political state of the Bantus; small tribes of some thousand persons with a tendency to break up when they become too numerous, as happened in the cases of the Tembe-Mapute and also with the Mpfumo-Matjolo, who were first united under Nhlaruti. (See p. 23.) During the first half of the XIXth century, South Africa witnessed the birth of many great Native kingdoms, in which a large number of tribes were amalgamated, thus forming much larger political units. This process began in the country now called Zululand, in 1800. There were then ninety-four different small tribes comparable with our Thonga clans, that of the Zulus numbering only 2000. They were amalgamated from 1818 to 1820, by the well-known military raids of Chaka, to such an extent that, in 1820, this terrible despot had more than 100,000 warriors, and had added half a million people to his tribe, having deprived three hundred clans of their independance. Two Zulu generals followed the exemple of Chaka; Moselekatsi amalgamated the tribes of Matabeleland, and Manukosi the Thonga clans, not to mention Songandaba and the Angoni of Nyassa. The same process was accomplished more or less peacefully for the Bantus of Basutoland by Moshesh, and for the Ba-Pedi by Sekukuni, so that the original state of autonomy of the South African clans was generally replaced by large kingdoms in the greater part of South Africa.

Was this development a natural evolution of the Bantu clan? I do not think so. We must not forget that the first idea of transforming the clan into a conquering army, the idea which inspired Chaka, was brought to Zululand by the Umtetwa chief Dingiswayo, and that he conceived it on seeing an English regiment in Cape Town. The military spirit of the Bantus, which might have remained quiescent for a few more centuries, was awakened or stirred up by this sight. The seed found a wonderfully well-prepared soil, I confess. But without that seed, this terrible

618 / 175 / 643 movement of amalgamation would probably not have taken place, and I think we may consider the clan life, as it is still met with amongst the Rongas, (who were never subject to the Ngoni chief), as the typical Bantu political state (1).

B. THE LAUDATORY NAME OF THE CLANS AND TOTEMISM.

618 551 101 Each clan is known by the name of the old chief who is believed to have been its original ancestor. So the Nkuna clan comes from Nkuna, who lived four or five hundred years ago, and left Zululand for the Bilen country. The Mazwaya clan descends from Mazwaya, grandfather of Masinga and ancestor of all the heads of the sub-clans, Makaneta, Hlewane, etc. This name is a kind of *family name* for all the members of the clan. In the course of time, when sub-clans begin to aspire to independence, the first ancestor tends to fall into oblivion and is supplanted by the ancestor of the sub-clan. This process is easily noticeable at the present moment in Nondwane, where Mboza, for instance, calls himself a Makaneta. He says: "I am wa ka Makaneta," — "a man of the Makaneta house;" but if he wants to be more precise, he will say: "I am a Mazwaya Makaneta." — "Shibongo a shi diwi," "the family name is never eaten, it is eternal!" (Mboza.)

618 551 576 This old name is called *shibongo* from *ku bonga*, to laud, to praise. It is a *laudatory name*. It is used as such on two different occasions: 1) *When people salute each other*. A friend who meets Mboza on the road will say to him: "Shawan, Makaneta," "Good morning Makaneta!" But also: "Shawan Makhetshe!" (Makhetshe is the grandfather of Makaneta); or: "Shawan Mazwaya" or "Shawan Nwamasuluke." (Masuluke is the true father of Mboza.)

(1) The objection might be raised that, in former centuries, the celebrated Monomotapa founded a great kingdom. But what this exactly was, nobody knows. The descriptions of the chroniclers of those times are not very trustworthy, as we shall see from a quotation which will be made later on.

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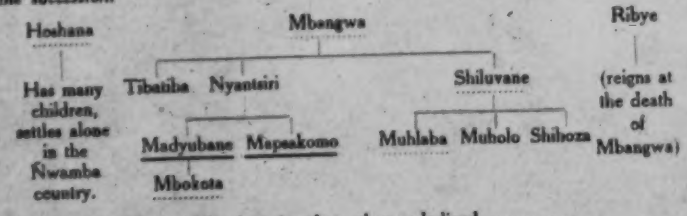
643 But whilst they may be reconciled in ordinary life, these two principles become antagonistic when carried into politics, and this law of succession has been the source of endless disturbances amongst the Thonga clans. It is true that the younger brothers of the chief, when taking his place, are looked on more or less as princes regent, holding office on behalf of their nephew, who is the lawful heir to the throne. They are said to "make him grow" (kurisa) to "keep his tumbler" (hlayisa ndyelo).

But if the former chief died in youth, and if his younger brother has lived and reigned for a long time, and has become very popular, he is very much tempted to appropriate the chieftainship for his own family and to order the tribe to crown his son, to the exclusion of the son of the first chief, who belonged to the elder branch, but who has been more or less forgotten during all these years. This leads to conflicts and fighting. The lawful heir will contest (*banga*, a Zulu word) and a *mubango* (civil war) will follow. Or, if he is not able to fight, he will keep to himself, full of bitterness, and ready to seize the first opportunity of asserting his rights.

643 175 721 Such a usurpation has twice taken place in the Nkuna tribe. It is not easy to know exactly what happened, because there are conflicting statements. Those who hold the chieftainship do not tell the story in the same way as those who consider that they were robbed of their right. This is the testimony of one of the latter, Mbokota, son of Madjubane. There were three brothers, Hoshana, Mbangwa and Ribye (1). During

(1) *Genealogy of the Nkuna family showing why and how contests arose for the succession.*



The names of the chiefs who reigned are thus underlined .....
The names of those who were deprived of the chieftainship, thus ———

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the disturbances caused by the Ngoni invasion, Hoshana fled to the Nwamba country and lost touch with the main body of the clan which settled in the Transvaal. He however possessed the *ritlatla* (p. 385). On his death the royal appanage was brought to Shiluvane, but it never went back to Hoshana's children, who lost their right for ever. Mbangwa had three children, a daughter, Tibatiba, and two sons, Nyantsiri and Shiluvane. On his death, his younger brother Ribye reigned. He died, and then the chieftainship came back to Mbangwa's children. In the meantime Nyantsiri had died, but he had left two children, Madyubane and Mapsakomo. Madyubane, the elder, was still a child. So Tibatiba, the elder sister, said to Shiluvane : "Take the elephant tusk belonging to the Nkuna royal family and reign in the place of Nyantsiri ; but you have only to 'keep the tumbler' of Madyubane." Shiluvane sold the tusk and bought wives, beads and clothing for himself. Madyubane died some years later ; but he had a younger brother, Mapsakomo, and also a son called Mbokota. The chieftainship ought certainly to have returned to the elder branch. Mbokota told me himself that Shiluvane, before he died, ordered his counsellors to proclaim him as chief. So, on Shiluvane's death, a great contest arose. The headmen came to the capital and asked which son of Shiluvane had been designated by the late chief as his successor. No one dared reply, because there were four men who claimed the chieftainship : Mapsakomo, a younger brother of the legal heir Madyubane, Mbokota the son of Madyubane, Muhlaba and Muholo, both sons of Shiluvane. The great counsellor Shikhibane then said : "I heard Shiluvane say he wished Muhlaba to reign." The headmen accepted this statement, but the other pretenders greatly resented it. Seeing that many Ba-Nkuna were opposed to Muhlaba, Shikhibane assembled the whole tribe in arms to proclaim his protégé. He wanted the army itself to manifest its will. Mbokota, Mapsakomo and Muholo protested. But the warriors took Muhlaba, who was still a young man, and brought him to his new residence in an epic march all through the country during which they sang the war songs. The contest was finally settled by the Boer Authorities ; Captain Dahl, then Native Commissioner for Zoutpansberg.

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643 confirmed the choice of Muhlaba. The Pedi queen Magayibia,
175 of the Nyarin clan, also asserted that she had heard Shiluvane designate this young man as his successor, and the other pretenders were obliged to keep quiet. But they remained very discontented (1).

I have seen another similar case of the elder branch losing its right on account of a younger brother placing his son on the throne, to the exclusion of the legal heir. It happened amongst the Ba-ka-Baloyi who took refuge in the Mudjadji country. The sons of Nkami, younger brother of Shitshabe, tried to seize the chieftainship to the detriment of Munyamana, son of Shitshabe. and this gave rise to a war in consequence of which, however, Munyamana regained his right. (See S. A. A. A. S. Report of the Meeting of 1905. Vol. III, page 251.)

All these facts tend to show that the position of the chief is attended with many dangers and difficulties, not to mention those which arise from the presence of the White Government, with which I shall deal later on.

643 So it must be recognised that the Thongas have not been able to discover a political system guaranteeing the peace of the country in a satisfactory way. The habit of dividing the power between brothers who soon become rivals, and of allowing the younger brothers to reign before the legal heir, both tend to destroy the unity of the clan and give rise to quarrels and unrest. Another bad consequence of these features of the royal right is this ; a chief, when he ascends the throne, will do his best to *get rid of troublesome brothers* in order to reign alone and to ensure the chieftainship to his son. This has often happened, especially in the case of Maphunga, chief of Nondwane, who killed as many as four brothers or near relations : Sitjobela, Ñwanambalana, Zulu and

(1) I remember one day paying a visit to Mbokota, and hearing him complain bitterly about his fate. He had tried to show his independence by establishing a separate circumcision school for his people so that they should not go to the "sungi" of Muhlaba. The chief did not prevent him from doing this, but he had just sent a messenger to claim the fees paid by the boys. Mbokota was much grieved at being obliged to remit them, and, if he had had enough men, he would certainly have revolted. But he had but a handful of warriors. He was not popular amongst the tribe, so he did not think it wise to "banga" and eventually submitted to Muhlaba.

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CHAPTER IV

The Army.

A. WAR-LIKE PROCLIVITIES OF THE THONGAS.

721 726 175 As mentioned in the preliminary chapter (p. 34), in former times the war-like spirit seems to have been but little developed amongst the Thongas. The primitive population possessed no iron weapons, and the invasions which took place from the XV^th^ to the XVIII^th^ century seem to have been peaceful. Conquerors and subjects soon intermarried and no recollection of bloody contests remained. When clans fought against each other, in those remote times, namely before the arrival of the Zulus (1820), they thought they had done doughty deeds when two or three warriors had been killed, and the vanquishers returned home saying : "None of the enemy is left!!" The army used to form in a straight line, not in a circle, as was the case later on under Zulu influence.

175 When the cruel hordes of Manukosi subjugated the plain of Delagoa, all that was changed. Of course the Thonga yimpis were defeated very easily. First of all, those of Maputju and Tembe ; in the country of Matjolo, which was afterwards invaded, the chief Mashekane was so stout that he had been surnamed "Mitahomu ni timhondjo" — "the one who swallows an ox, horns and all..." He fought bravely but was also defeated. In Khosen, says Hendrick, an old man who stayed for years in Rikatla and who was then a child, the aborigines were deceived by the perpendicular sticks which the Ba-Ngoni invaders had fixed to their ox-hide shields ; they mistook them for reeds and thought they could break them easily ; but their three united yimpis, that of Khosen under Mbanyele, of Rikotsho under Makwakwa, and of Shiburi under Shitlhama, were repulsed, broken through by the Zulu phalanx.

175 These Zulus or Ngonis taught the tribes of the plain a system
177 of war much more cruel than the old one : "kill everything,"
726 — such is the rule. No exception is made except in the case
703 of women, who are taken prisoners. The Thonga clans readily accepted this new mode of fighting. They adopted the Zulu system wholesale, the proof of which is that all their military terminology is pure Zulu. Their apprenticeship began during the invasion ; the Ba-Ngoni seeing that the Thongas had a certain aptness for war, incorporated them into their own regiments and used to send them forward to the attack, as previously mentioned. They praised them by calling them the *Mabuyandlela* — those who prepare the way, — a kind of nickname which the Thongas have kept to this day and of which they were very proud.

721 However I do not think it would be unfair to the Thongas
175 to assert that the old peaceful basis of their character is still
703 preserved, notwithstanding this influence. We have had an opportunity of judging of their warlike capabilities during the war of 1894-1896 with the Portuguese. (See Appendix X, Short account of two South African wars.) The Natives did not fight from choice. While some of them gave proof of great endurance, and the army fought in some cases with a certain tenacity, Thongas and especially Ba-Ronga did not show themselves very able warriors. Want of discipline, mutual distrust, timidity resulting in frequent retreats, inability to follow up their successes, such were the main causes of their defeat. The wild soldiers of Maputju, who considered themselves the equals of the genuine Zulus, showed their courage only when there was no danger!

B. WAR COSTUME AND WEAPONS.

714 One day when we were comfortably seated under the beautiful tree at our station of Rikatla, a strange looking monster suddenly appeared on the scene, running towards us! The children fled and the women hid themselves... It was Charley, our milk-man, who, with some other warriors, was going to a military review, to be

726 to heaven! The vanquishers follow their enemies until they reach their villages. As a rule, *they kill every one*, women, children, old men and tired warriors who have been unable to run away. They take the oxen and burn the huts. However exceptions are made in some instances : Sigaole, the ally of the Whites, ordered his warriors to spare the lives of the people of Zihlahla, during the expedition of February 1895, and to take them prisoners instead. "If you find any inhabitants remaining in the villages" said he "go into them. Let some one draw a line on the ground around the village and forbid the soldiers to cross it and to massacre the people." Generally speaking, however, the only lives spared are those of the younger women and girls of whom they can hope to make some profit, either by taking them as wives or selling them to others for matrimonial purposes. These prisoners are called "heads" (tinhloko) (1). This is the only kind of slavery practised by our tribe. Such wives are not ill-treated, as a rule.

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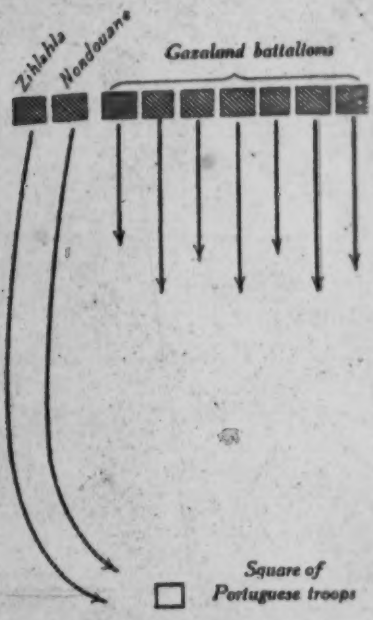
726 So far I have described the war-customs of the Natives when fighting with each other. Let me add some particulars taken from the Thonga-Portuguese war of 1894-1896 (App. X.) which throw some light on the Native modes of fighting against White people.

* * *

726 175 When opposed to White troops, the attack en masse would be too dangerous : regiments advancing in serried ranks would offer too good a target to the European artillery. From information I have gathered with reference to the battle of Makupe or Magule (Sept. 8 1895), it would appear that the Ba-Ronga advanced in skirmishing order, those provided with guns approaching very close to the lines of the Whites. During this fight, one of the most important of the whole campaign, the Portuguese Commanding Officer, M. F. d'Andrade, shewed great presence of mind : the Zihlahla and Nondwane

(1) Two women, members of our Church, were carried off in this way by some of the Zihlahla men (6th October 1894), and we had the greatest trouble in finding them. They were seized close to the town, while going to their food-stores and their captors had duly married them with the acquiescence of their chief.

726/175 warriors came into almost actual contact with the Portuguese square, whilst the Gaza regiments, which were in greatly superior force, remained at a distance and then retreated. They had been told by Gungunyana that they were not to kill White men, so their presence was a mere parade. The Ba-Ronga finding themselves thus deserted followed the same tactics! One of the warriors present on this occasion drew me a plan of the engagement on the floor of a hut! (See accompanying sketch).



On the whole it must be admitted that the Natives of these parts seem greatly to prefer surprise attacks, sudden descents upon peaceful and unsuspecting folk, to any kind of regular pitched battle.

The Swazis used to arrive in the Delagoa plain very early in the morning, surround the villages and massacre indiscriminately all the inhabitants, in the years 1860-1870. The Ngonis of Gungunyana adopted the same method. The Matjolo warriors, whom the Portuguese sent against Zihlahla in February 1895, encamped in perfect silence within one hour's march of the spot where Nwamantibyane had taken refuge (Nhlalalene) and attacked his people when they least expected them. They indulged in the pleasure of killing numbers of women and children, whilst their male enemies fled into the palm marshes, shouting vociferously: "Make ready your rope to climb up to heaven... There will be no more rest on earth for you! Cook three meals: you may eat two but never a third." Empty threats! The greater part of the Native fights during this war consisted in ambuscades and treacherous slaughterings: lots of noise, plenty of bluster, but not much real bravery.

We shall arrive at the same estimate of Native valour if we consider *the great campaign* planned by Gungunyana in concert with Zihlahla

726 and Mahazule, who had taken refuge in Gaza, during July-August 1895.
175 Nine regiments, representing a large effective force, were to start from Manzimehlope, the country beyond the Nkomati River; three of these were to ascend the left bank of the river, to cross it in the neighbourhood of Komati-Poort and to enter Swaziland, the Ngoni chief having made alliance with the Swazis. The other regiments were to cross the Nkomati to the West of the Sabie, and thence to go southward by Moveni. The remaining three, with whom were incorporated Zihlahla and Mahazule, were to ravage Shirindja, Ntimane and Nondwane, passing about one hour's march to the West of Lourenço Marques, exterminating the inhabitants of Matjolo (allies of the Whites), whose retreat to the town would be thus cut off... - The nine regiments were to effect a junction at a place called Nkobotlwene, to the South of the Bay, where the forces of Gungunyana would fraternise with those of Maputju, with whom they were on good terms. For the space of seven months, tens of thousands of these warriors were to overrun the country
726 and to annihilate all the tribes opposed to Gungunyana. The chief
609 would not massacre the Whites, nor would he attack their town: he
17 [illegible]ated on rendering them powerless by depriving them of the assistance of their Black allies, and expected them thus to sue for peace on honourable terms! Such, at least, was the plan of campaign which transpired after Gungunyana had been made prisoner, in the centre of his own country of Gaza, by a party of about forty White soldiers! The whole thing culminated in a single day's skirmish in the Ntimane country. The petty chiefs quarrelled amongst themselves; only a few hardy warriors dared to cross the Nkomati and slaughtered some women at a short distance from the outpost of Chinabane. Finding themselves discovered, they at once recrossed the river and made off to the Northward.

578 The principal causes of the incapacity in military matters so noticeable amongst the Blacks during the war of 1894-1896, are doubtless the *internal jealousies* between the tribes and also, it must be said, the mysterious dread inspired by the White race, their artillery and their superior discipline.

726 The feeling of mistrust existing between Matjolo and Nwamba,
175 Nondwane, Zihlahla and Shirindja, also explains the terrible *panics*
703 which occured during the military operations. On several occasions the Native forces were subject to panics which might have entailed the most serious results. As an instance I relate the following, which nearly led to the partial distruction of the Matjolo army. The Matjolo

726 warriors, as also those of Nwamba, had received orders from the
173 Whites, at the end of January 1895, to attack Zihlahla and Mahazule.
703 One of the young men of Matjolo, who was present during the operations, told me this story : "We were to have joined the men of Nwamba at a village called Mukapan, but did not find them at the rendez-vous. As they had made common cause with Zihlahla at the beginning of the revolt, we had not much confidence in them. It looked as if they were in hiding and intended to attack us treacherously and kill us. At this time two panics occured. The first was at Hukwen, when a man dreamt that he was being killed, and cried out : "Yo! Uwe! There are people who are killing me!" It was pitch dark. Every one jumped to his feet. Some ran to hide in the forest, but others shouted : "The enemy are here!" Fighting began in the regiment of Geba, (composed of men of the same age as Sigaole, the chief), but no one was killed. A few individuals who kept their presence of mind restored order, but we came very near exterminating each other! The next night a Chopi of our troop had a fright, and cried out : "Why do you want to kill me, you men of Matjolo ? I will tell Sigaole's mother." He was promptly secured and forced to keep quiet for fear that he would rouse the Nondwane people, etc. A similar panic seized the troops of Mahazule, when they went to lay waste the country round Lourenço Marques (October 1894).

726 To avoid these panics, as far as possible, the Ba-Ronga arrange a
192 *password* before starting on an expedition. I was able to learn two of these countersigns, after the war, by questioning some young men who had taken part in certain military operations. On one occasion the pass-word was as follows : "Be ge pi ?" These are Zulu words signifying : "What are you looking at ?" The requisite answer being : "Be ge pezulu"—"We are looking at the sky." In the famous attack made by the Zihlahla warriors on the town of Lourenço Marques, on 14th October 1894, the word was : "U landu bane ?"—"With whom have you a quarrel ?"—and the reply : "Ngi landa Mlungu!"—"I have a quarrel with the white man!"

727 *Return from the battle.* When a yimpi has been defeated in
765 battle, but is not pursued by the enemy, it returns silently and disperses before reaching the capital, each warrior going back ashamed to his village. Mourning takes place in the villages of the deceased. But much lamenting is not allowed. It may be that the chief will prohibit any mourning if many have been

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APPENDIX X

Short Account of two South African wars.

175 As regards war customs, I not only possess the information obtained from my ordinary sources, Mankhelu, Tobane, Mboza, Viguet, etc., but a certain amount of personal experience. I had indeed the good, or the bad luck, to witness two South African wars : the Ronga-Portuguese war of 1894-1896 and the Sikororo war in 1901. As many allusions are made to these wars in these pages, my readers may be interested in having a short account of them.

1) *The Ronga-Portuguese war*, of 1894-1896, was caused by the subchief Mubvesha, when he tried to make himself independent of his young suzerain, Mahazule, who had just succeeded his father Maphunga as legitimate heir of Nondwane (See page 410). Mubvesha succeeded in interesting the Portuguese Administrator in his cause, but the whole clan remained loyal to Mahazule, and, a dispute having arisen, on the 27th August 1894, at Hangwana (the seat of the Administrator), the Mazwaya army assembled and prepared to defend its chief. The Government then successively asked Ñwamantibyane, chief of Mpfumu, and Ngwanazi, chief of Maputju, for help against the rebels. Ñwamantibyane, after long hesitation, refused the call (See Appendix XI). The Maputju warriors came as far as the Tembe shore, but, when asked to cross the bay, they decamped. For some weeks the Native yimpis were the masters of the whole country, up to the boundary of the town of Lourenço Marques. But Portuguese troops soon arrived from Lisbon and re-took Hangwana, (10 miles from the town), in December. The Royal Commissioner, M. A. Ennes, with his aide de camp, General (then Captain) F. d'Andrade, having taken command of the campaign, a forward move was made. The Portuguese camped near Morakwen, on the Nkomati River, where a severe battle took place at daybreak on the 2nd February 1895. The yimpis of Mahazule and Ñwamantibyane attacked the Portuguese troops while it was still dark and nearly invaded their camp. But the white soldiers did not lose their heads ; they rapidly formed square and repulsed the enemy with great loss. At the same time Native allies of Matjolo and Mabota were driving the rebels from their retreats, so that they fled to the east of the Nkomati River into Gungunyana's territory : these Captain F. d'An-

175 drade followed into the Khosen country and defeated them on the 8th September 1895, at the battle of Magule (See page 471).

The Ngoni king, Gungunyana, had more or less encouraged the rebels to rise. When asked to give them up to the Portuguese he refused to do so. So the war had to be carried up to his stronghold of Mandlakazi. During many weeks the whole of Gungunyana's army, which was estimated at 25,000 to 30,000 men, camped near its king, ready to fight. But, for some unknown reason, the Portuguese army was delayed and the Thonga battalions, having nothing to eat, broke up. However, a strong bodyguard, the flower of the great king's troops, consisting principally of Ba-Ngoni, remained at the headquarters. When at last the Portuguese arrived in the neighbourhood of Mandlakazi, a sharp fight took place. The Ngoni warriors gallantly attacked the Portuguese square but were driven back with great loss, (305 killed, according to the official report). The royal kraal, Mandlakazi, was taken and destroyed and Gungunyana fled to Tshayimiti, the sacred wood where his ancestors were buried. Some weeks later, Captain Musinho d'Albuquerque, after a forced march, took him prisoner without any fighting, and brought him to Lourenço Marques, whence he was deported to Western Africa.

175 631 P. 177. 63 The Ba-Ngoni considered that they had been taken by surprise and not properly defeated ; so, in 1897, a serious revolt broke out, headed by Magigwane, the Commander-in-Chief of Gungunyana's yimpi. But it was soon successfully put down by the Portuguese forces, who divided up the country into a certain number of military zones, and the districts of Lourenço Marques and Inhambane have been perfectly quiet ever since.

175 2. *The Sikororo war* took place, in 1901, in the Shiluvane country, during the Anglo-Boer war, when the north of the Transvaal was, as it were, without white rulers. The successor of the famous Sekukuni, reigning in the Leydensburg district, Sekhukhukhu, tried to avail himself of the unsettled state of the country to realise an old political dream, viz., to become the paramount chief of the whole country. He interfered with the Maharimane clan, which inhabited the Drakensberg ranges, where the Oliphant crosses them before reaching the plain. This clan was divided into two : the legitimate heir was under the tutelage of a woman named Nwanamohube, but his brother, Maphephe, wished to get rid of her, stating that she was exercising her authority against the interests of the country. Sekhukhukhu assured the queen-regent that he would help her if she joined him. He

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entreated the Pedi chiefs dwelling on the northern side of the range, viz., Sikororo and Maaghe, to espouse his cause. Sikororo was a very strange old man who had retired into the mountains, far away from his villages, and a regent, named Rios, was carrying on the government in his stead. Rios agreed with Sekhukhukhu's proposals ; so did some of the subjects of Maaghe, the Masume clan. But Maaghe himself refused to do so and he was supported by Muhlaba, the Nkuna chief, who was an old ally of his.

The first encounter took place in the Maharimane valley, where Maphephe was defeated by the united yimpis of Sekhukhukhu and Ñwanamohube. He fled. In the meantime another foe, called by the Natives "Fighter-by-night," had opposed Sekhukhukhu in the Leydenburg district, invaded his territory, and defeated his troops. It seemed that this would put an end to the ambitious plans of the great Pedi chief... But such was not the case. Hearing of his enemy's defeat, Maphephe again took courage. Chased from his country, he sought a refuge with Maaghe, who was imprudent enough to welcome him and all his people in the Bokhaha valley. We witnessed the curious spectacle of a whole clan moving into our district of Shiluvane. The young chief was breathing vengeance. He soon began to make mischief, and organised a raid into Masume's territory. This put a match to the train. Rios avenged his friends by burning some villages of Muhlaba, and killing the pigs. A regular battle took place, on the 15th October 1901, between the armies of Maaghe and Muhlaba and those of Sikororo and Masume. The first had to retreat, but they suffered no loss, whilst they claimed to have killed 20 of the enemy. The situation was bad for them, as other chiefs threatened to join Sikororo and to deal summarily with them and their missionaries! I then went to ask for help at Leydsdorp, where the remainder of the Boer Commandoes were just passing, coming from Komati Poort on the way to Pietersburg. I had the good luck to meet there with a party of Hollanders, who at once volunteered to come and save women and children in danger! They stayed for two days at the Shiluvane station, where their presence caused a great sensation... But they had to look after their own affairs, and we were soon obliged to return to the same dangerous situation! On the 6th November 1901, the Sikororo yimpi, strengthened by the troops of Sekhukhukhu, Mabulanen, Masume etc., a regular confederation of yimpis, numbering 700 warriors (as it was estimated), invaded the peaceful Shiluvane valley at dawn, burning the huts, firing their rifles, and shouting wildly : "Moya! Moya!" (Wind! Wind! viz., projectiles of

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175 the enemy are but wind!) They went so far as to cross the Moudi rivulet, less than one mile from the Shiluvane Mission Station. The two allied chiefs were not on their guard and had very few men with them. However, they rushed to meet the invaders with such courage that these were surprised. Seeing the Christian Natives clad like Europeans, they believed the Hollanders were still there, and fled ignominously, leaving some 40 of their warriors dead on the field of battle. These are the men whose flesh provided all the Zoutpansberg magicians with their powerful charms! Rios was killed, and it is said that his corpse was redeemed for the price of ten guineas by the old Sikororo. Others state that his skull was placed by Maaghe in the great drum of his capital. This defeat definitely broke the power of Sikororo, who made his submission, and was the last clash of arms worth mentioning in the war.

APPENDIX XI (See p. 463).

The position of Ñwamantibyane when the 1894 war broke out.

When the Portuguese asked Ñwamantibyane to help them against Mahazule, (August-September 1894), this young chief of twenty years of age at the most, assembled his army. An irresistible spirit of war was in the air. Held back by his counsellors, who were unwilling to fight against their rebellious compatriots, Ñwamantibyane hesitated to respond to the appeal of the Whites. He was seated, perplexed, in his camp, his demeanour morose and preoccupied, surrounded on the one hand by his "great ones," on the other by his young men who addressed him thus: "Give us, give us men to slaughter! Thou art nothing but a coward! Send us!" Those were tragic times!

He allowed a small contingent to go into the neighbourhood of Lourenço Marques, in order to reconnoitre (Nov. 6. 1894). This yimpi made several prisoners and stole the oxen of the Swiss Mission, which were grazing in the vicinity of the town. One of our young men, named Tandane, was taken prisoner by a man of Ñwamba. A passer-by, belonging to the Mabota clan, was also caught. All these captives were taken to the chief Ñwamantibyane, to whom the spoil belonged, his men having been the spoilers. The man who had captured the passer-by from Mabota begged the chief's permission to

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175 kill him, which was accorded ; this warrior, radiant with joy, immediately retired with his victim, slew him in cold blood and returned to dance before the chief. The Nwamba man requested a like privilege. But Ñwamantibyane had other ends in view ; he wanted to make use of our young man to send a message to the Portuguese Governor, and so refused the permission asked. The man, a prey to an insatiable longing to shed blood, insisted. He was offered as compensation one, and even two, of the stolen oxen, but could not thus be satisfied. "I want my man," said he, "to kill him so that I can dance!" Ñwamantibyane had to employ force to silence him. Two oxen, twelve pounds sterling, counted as nothing to this black warrior compared with the fiendish delight he would derive from the *gila*!

As regards the conclusion of the story of Tandane, he came back with a letter from the chief asking why the Whites wanted to kill him, and begging for an interview. When the letter, written in Zulu by some of his boys, had been despatched, the young chief said : "Now I can breathe! When I eat something, it can pass through my throat!" The Portuguese Governor consented to the interview, but the letter sent back to Ñwamantibyane, in answer to his, was intercepted and so the war continued. See in the preceding Appendix how it spread to Gungunyana's country, and ended in the capture of this despot and the destruction of the Ngoni kingdom.

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Phot. D. Lestr.

Sham Fight at Ndlebende's (Maputo).

177 Governments have everywhere placed Native Commissioners to watch over their coloured subjects. This has put *an end to the tribal wars*. Natives are no longer allowed to indulge in their old fighting customs. They may avail themselves of a war between Europeans to square up old accounts with each other, as happened during the Anglo-Boer war, but they are forbidden to follow the war-path any longer. In many parts of South Africa they have even been disarmed. This change, as a whole, is a favourable one. Native wars never brought blessing to the race. It tends however to destroy one of the springs of patriotism, and in this way it impoverishes the Native mind.

643 175 631 P. 177. 64 *c)* These Native Commissioners have placed a very effective check, not only upon the military tendencies of the tribe, but upon *the power of its chiefs*. The authority of the chief in the clan has certainly been diminished. In some instances he has been deposed, or banished in consequence of war, and the tribe has remained without a head and without force, as it were emasculated, and unable to guide itself. As Mankhelu said: "Our chief is the forest into which we retreat! Without him we are but women!" This was sadly noticeable in the case of the Zihlahla or Mpfumo clan, which was perhaps the most developed of all the Ronga kingdoms and which suffered most from the 1894-96 war. Its young chief Ñwamantibyane was caught and deported to some spot in Eastern Africa, and the clan was dismembered, a great number of men emigrating to the Transvaal; the others remained dissatisfied but powerless in their old territory, and were incorporated with Matjolo or Mabota.

643 681 692 P. 177. 69 Even when the Native chief is maintained in his position by the Whites, his power is curtailed. As a judge, he is no longer allowed to inflict capital punishment. His tribunal only judges minor cases, and beside and beyond him, there is a further appeal, the Court of the White Commissioner, which is ready to consider every important case. Should the Native chief be unjust or selfish in his decisions, the subjects will go more and more to the White tribunal. It may be that their claims will not be so well understood as in their own *hubo*, but they will perhaps meet with fairer treatment. Shrewd and clever Native Commissioners thus succeed in attracting more applicants to their residences than the chief to his capital (1). This dual control leads to a progressive loosening of the tribal tie.

(1) This was the case for instance in Nondwane. The unjust and egoistical rule of Mubvesha compelled many of his subjects to go "ebikaneshiweni," viz., to the Portuguese Administrator of Moralven.